1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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583 mere act of propagation until after the birth of the offspring, then these runaway unions are, generally speaking, genuine marriages. They are certainly so regarded by the natives; and the lover, after obtaining the woman's consent, has to secure the goodwill of her parents by making money payments (amounting nowadays to 15s. plus one goat) which have every [684] appearance of being a bride-price. To elope with a married woman without having made these payments is considered a serious offence.[1]

[851] Children begotten by the secondary husband belong to him. The original husband does not claim compensation for the loss of his wife, for he hopes that she will eventually return to him. A secondary husband, similarly, cannot claim the return of his payments if he in turn is abandoned. A Katab woman may thus in her lifetime have had as many as ten different husbands; but a woman so fickle would be regarded as being little better than a harlot among the more sophisticated tribes. Parents, [626] moreover, who consistently encourage a daughter to change her husband are viewed with contempt. Religious rites are even performed every three years, the object of which is to put a check on excess of elopement marriages.

The system of sub-marriages has been regarded with disfavour by both the Fulani and British administrations, and suggestions have been made and rules introduced for modifying or abrogating the practice, which is clearly a source of trouble to those in authority. We shall see presently, however, that the social organization of the Katab tribe is intimately bound up with the institution of sub-marriages. No regulations affecting the institution should, therefore, be introduced without a full understanding of their probable effect, nor should the opinion of the tribal chiefs themselves be accepted as final in the matter, for they may agree to changes the full effect of which they themselves are unable clearly to foresee.

587 Type (*c*). The third type of marriage is that produced by the inheritance or purchase of a widow. Sons may inherit and marry their father's or grandfather's widows (though marriages with the grandfather's widows are necessarily of rare occurrence)

[1] In the case of wives obtained *from neighbouring tribes* (capture or arrangement with the woman) the woman's parents were not consulted, though a bride-price might subsequently be paid.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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587 and both the junior and senior levirate are practised. A man may, in addition to his brother's widow, inherit the widow of his father's brother's son. But the inheritance of a maternal uncle's widows is not permissible among the Katab (though it is among their Gwari neighbours). It should be noted in connection with inheritance that secondary wives are heritable equally with primary wives, and that heritors are entitled to endeavour to recover the runaway wives of the person from whom they inherit without making payments to the women's parents.

[428]

582 *Marriage and Social Groupings.*—The fundamental feature in the social organization of the tribes is that no man may contract any form of marriage with any woman of his own clan. Descent is reckoned patrilineally. No man, therefore, may marry by purchase or elope with a woman whose father belongs to the same clan as himself. Thus a male of the Fakan sub-clan may not marry a female of the Fakan sub-clan, nor yet a female of the Aswen sub-clan, as Fakan and Aswen are moieties of the Minyam clan. In this connection it is important to remember that groups of immigrants have in some cases been adopted into a clan, and where this has happened the exogamous rule is applicable. No Fakan, for example, may marry a girl of the village of Magamiya, for the people of Magamiya, though belonging to a different tribe (viz. Ikulu), have been adopted by the Aswen sub-clan, and are therefore reckoned by the Fakan as fellow clansmen (i.e. as Minyam).

[611]

We have thus a well-developed system of clan exogamy among the Katab which is worthy of note; for it would seem that in the majority of Nigerian tribes marriage is regulated by consanguinity considerations rather than by the clan mechanism. Consanguinity is, of course, a bar to marriage among the Katab, for not only is intermarriage with the father's kin totally prohibited (by the clan organization), but inter-marriage with the social group of the mother is also prohibited to this extent that a man, though he may marry into his mother's clan, must avoid marriage with close blood relatives of his mother. All cousin marriages are taboo.

582 We now come to the consideration of the rules governing the contraction of sub-marriages. We may begin by stating that
583 no man may elope with (*a*) a married woman who is a member of his own clan or closely related to his mother, (*b*) the wife of

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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601 relatives of the speaker's own generation (viz. brothers, sisters, cousins) are classed together as *nanyuk*, those of the generation above (viz. father, mother, their brothers, sisters, and cousins) as *atio* (fem. *-ayang*), those of the generation below (viz. sons, daughters, and their several cousins) as *ngwan*, and so on. This system of classification by seniority is not confined to blood relatives, but is applied generally to all members of the clan,[1] who consider themselves kin by virtue of descent from a common ancestor. Thus an Aku will address any other Aku who is of a senior generation as *atio* (or father), of a generation below as *ngwan* (son), of two generations below as *kambwon* (grandchild), of two generations above as *atiokwop* (grandfather), and of the same generation as *nanyuk*, a term which carries with it a prohibition of intermarriage. It is interesting to note here that one effect of elopement marriages is that half-brothers by the same mother may sometimes belong to different clans, and that the term *nanyuk* is thus sometimes applicable to a person who is not a fellow-clansman.

601 582 [587] Further, the relationship terminology is fundamentally influenced by the existing social relations. The application by a man of the term *aviyuk* or "wife" to his brother's wife or his grandfather's widow implies that those relatives are marriageable, as is actually the case, for both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and the inheritance of a paternal grandfather's widow is permissible, though of rare occurrence. (It is to be noted, however, that though a grandfather addresses a granddaughter as "wife" he cannot nowadays, if he ever could, marry her; and also that, although a man may inherit his father's widow, other than his own mother, he cannot address his father's wife as *aviyuk* or "wife". Marriageability is not, therefore, always indicated by the nomenclature. The term *nungvan* or "wife abductor", which males apply to all their grandsons, is also clearly a playful reference to the custom which permits a man to inherit the young widow of his paternal grandfather, excluding, of course, the mother of his own father. On the same principle the term *nungvan* is applied by males of one sub-clan to males of another sub-clan (of their own clan), for any male of one sub-clan may abduct the wife of any male of

[1] But clan groups between whom elopement with wives is practised use the special terminology indicated in the following paragraph.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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601 Ronga of South Africa, although there are two separate terms for mother's father and mother's brother, they are frequently confused by the native in conversation. The confusion or rather identification is merely the result of the tendency to extend to a group the type of behaviour which is manifested towards one particular member of that group.

● 587 A word may be said here about the Katab custom of marriage with the widow of a grandfather and father, to which reference has already been made. Marriage with the grandfather's widow does not appear to be connected with reincarnation ideas, nor to have followed in the wake of a former grandfather-granddaughter marriage system of which there is no evidence among the Katab or any other Nigerian tribe, unless we are to make the precarious assumption that such marriages must have existed at one time because a Katab grandfather to-day addresses his grand-daughter as "wife". It appears to be the result merely [171] of the conception of women as heritable property. Marriage with the grandfather's widow is common in Africa and in parts of Melanesia. It is even found among some of the Muslim peoples of Nigeria in the form known as "auren salla", though in this type of marriage the intention appears merely to secure old women from being left destitute, for no sexual relations take 587 place. Among the Katab and neighbouring tribes marriage with the grandfather's widow is confined to young widows of 601 the paternal grandfather or his brothers, and is of course exclusive of the father's mother. It is a marriage of such rare occurrence that I was only able to obtain two instances at second-hand. Interesting relationships are set up by such marriages, e.g. a man may be another's grand-nephew and half-brother at the same time. When asked whether such a person would call the other *atiohwop* (grandfather) or *nanyuk* (brother), the answer was interesting, and was that he could do either as grandfathers and brothers are on precisely the same social footing, a fact which is one of the most noteworthy features of negro life and is exemplified in the playmate relationship, the common sharing of meals, and various other social regulations. A woman even calls her husband's grandfather "husband".

Instances of the inheritance of the father's (or father's brother's) widow are of more frequent occurrence, and the way in which the relationship terminology is affected as

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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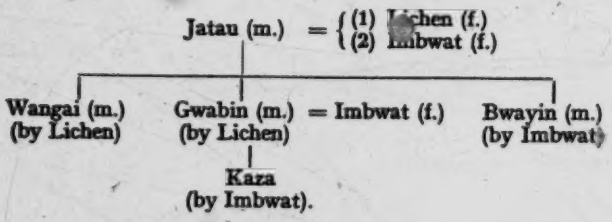
a result of such inheritance is illustrated in the following example :—



On the death of his father (Jatau), Gwabin inherited Imbwat, and begat a son Kaza. Bwayin thus occupied the double position of being Kaza's paternal uncle and also his half-brother by the same mother. How did Kaza address Bwayin? The answer was that although Kaza might refer to Bwayin as *nanyuk* (brother) he was bound to address him as *atio* (father) on the ground (*a*) that Bwayin might succeed Gwabin one day as head of Kaza's household, (*b*) that Kaza might one day inherit Bwayin's widow, and (*c*) that Bwayin may not "play" with Kaza's wife. Gwabin, who has now become the husband of Bwayin's mother, continues to call Bwayin his "brother" (*nanyuk*). On the other hand, Wangai, who formerly called Imbwat *ayang* or "mother", now calls her *aviyuk* or "wife", and if Gwabin dies he may inherit her. It is noteworthy that a man addresses his father's co-wife as "mother" until he inherits her. This does not bear out Dr. Rivers' contention that the fact that men address one another as parents and children provides the clearest of all possible indications that they are ineligible as consorts in marriage.[1]

Before leaving the subject of the relationship terminology, a few words may be said about the playmate relationship and the use of personal names. The playmate relationship is a social institution found among many primitive peoples, notably those of Africa, Melanesia, and North America. It is practised among certain classes of relatives between whom the strict rules of etiquette governing social intercourse are so relaxed that they display towards one another an attitude of joking familiarity. In Nigeria and among most Negro peoples the principal relatives

[1] *History of Melanesian Society*, ii, 39.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Descent is patrilineal; but we have already noted that children often respect the clan emblem of their mother as well as of their father; and it may be for this reason that the Fakan sub-clan, who freely intermarry with the Agbat, have come to adopt the crocodile emblem of the Agbat clan. As regards the attitude displayed by children to their respective parents, Katab children are not over-respectful to their fathers. They look after their mothers' interests zealously, and think little of striking their fathers on their mothers' behalf, which is not surprising in a state of society where polygyny has run riot.

Inheritance.—Inheritance is patrilineal. In the exceptional case already noted, a sister's son may receive a share of his maternal uncle's property; and a case came to my notice of a man inheriting his maternal grandfather's widow. The general rule, however, is that a man's property and titles pass to his sons or paternal nephews, brothers or paternal cousins, according to the circumstances and character of the inheritance. Females do not inherit from males, husbands do not inherit from wives, parents do not inherit from their children, and grandchildren do not inherit from their grandparents (with the single exception that a grandson may inherit his paternal grandfather's young widow).

If a man dies, and he was the holder of a title, the title passes to the next senior brother or paternal cousin, if he is considered a suitable person to hold the office. But his property passes to his grown-up sons, among whom it is divided in comparatively equal shares. If the children are young they pass under the guardianship of the deceased's brother or cousin, who would take them to his compound (provided he had a separate compound) and would there care for them until they had reached an age of discretion, when they would be reinstalled in their father's compound under the protection of the eldest son. If he had no sons of his own the brother who had inherited might retain one of the deceased's younger sons to look after him in his old age. Again, if the deceased's children are under age, his widows are inherited by his younger brothers or cousins, provided the widows offer no objection. He would take them off to his own compound, or he might keep one and hand another over to a brother or cousin according to the wishes of the deceased. If, however, the widows had sons who were old enough to farm they would remain with their children in their late husband's

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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768 587 compound, and the brother (or brothers) would come and sleep with them at night. It is clear that one of the results, and perhaps indeed one of the objects, of levirate marriage is the maintenance of the bond between a mother and her young children.

Grown-up sons inherit their father's widows, provided that the widows have no grown-up children living in the compound, i.e. a man may not inherit the mother of a half-brother who is old enough to farm. Though grown-up sons normally inherit their father's widows, it must be remembered that the inheritance of a grandfather's widows is also permitted. This happens where the young widows of an old man prefer being married to the grandson rather than to the son. The son would usually be agreeable to such an arrangement, but the preference of the widows for the grandson rather than the son might cause such resentment on the part of the son that he would order the widows to leave the family altogether.

428 As regards other forms of property, these are divided equally among grown-up sons, the eldest son being the adminstrator. Thus cash would be divided equally. If the deceased left a horse, the eldest son might retain it for himself, or exchange it for goats which he would share with his younger brothers. The eldest son would inherit his father's gown; but his father's cloth, an emblem of seniority among the Katab, would probably pass to a brother or cousin of the deceased, unless the son were himself so old that he was entitled to wear a cloth. As regards standing crops and grain in the granary, the eldest son would, if old enough, take charge and divide it with those of his younger [429] brothers who farm on their own account. If the sons are too young to inherit the various kinds of property enumerated above, the property is held in trust for them by their father's brother or paternal cousin, who restores it when they reach the age of discretion or gives them the equivalent, either in kind or by meeting the marriage expenses of his wards. The deceased's liabilities are met on the same principle, i.e. the eldest son (or, if he is too young, the younger brother) makes the necessary arrangements before dividing up the inheritance. Females cannot inherit from males; and so the property of a man who has daughters but no sons passes to his brother, or, failing him, to his brother's son. Husbands inherit nothing from their wives, and it was said that a husband would not even eat any

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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765 *Mourning Customs.*—A widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one to two months (varying in accordance with the worldly status of the deceased husband). At the end of this period she is shaven and washed in the river by female relatives. If she is [587] still comparatively young she will have a suitor, and he will, at the conclusion of her mourning, present her with a goat, etc., that she may be able to provide a feast for friends and relatives. Males do not engage in mourning rites. If, therefore, a man loses his wife he summons a married sister to come and perform the rites on his behalf. She remains in seclusion during the period of mourning, and allows her hair to grow long. On the conclusion of the rites she returns to her husband's village.

613 622 648 *Government and Law.*—It may be surmised that, prior to the time when they came under the Habe of Zaria, the Katab tribe consisted of a number of unconsolidated groups without any central organization. Each group or sub-clan may have acknowledged the authority of its own Magajin Elenowum in things spiritual and temporal, but the existing system of sub-clan chiefs charged with executive and administrative powers seems to have been evolved in order to regulate the relations of the tribe with the Habe of Kauru, who had established their suzerainty over the Katab long before they themselves became subject to the Bornu-Fulani dynasty of Zaria at the beginning of last century.

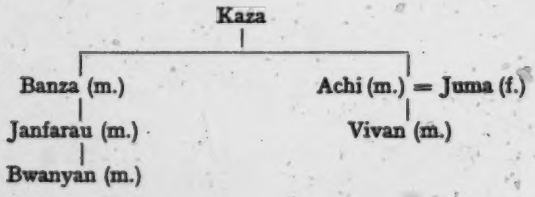
648 622 554 778 The Hausa town of Zangon Katab was founded during the early Kauru régime as a caravanserai for Hausa traders, and as a base from which the Kauru chiefs could extract tribute from the Katab and exercise such administrative control as was necessary for this purpose. In the matter of tribute it would appear that the Kauru chiefs dealt direct with each village area, ignoring the clan organization. But for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty was sworn on the sacred sword which was a characteristic feature of the Zaria polity. Sacred swords were granted to chiefs of importance throughout the Zaria dominions and treated with the utmost awe by the recipients, who guarded them closely and sprinkled them regularly with the blood of a chicken or goat. Minor chiefs and village headmen were not granted a sword, but were sworn in on a sword specially

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kachichere

" madaiki " or second-in-command is a member of the Chobiam. Each kindred has a *magaji elenowum* of its own, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, the former belonging to the Tabin, and the latter to the Tiat. The rain-maker is known as the Atun Yevwo and performs his rites on the top of a hill. He also carries out rites to put a stop to blights by sprinkling digitaria millet on the farms.

Apart from the prohibition of wife abduction from members of their own tribe, the Kachichere marriage-laws closely resemble those of the Katab. Every Kachichere child has, however, to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments, the existing scale being 5*s*. for the first child, 4*s*. for the second, 3*s*. for the third, and so on.

The widows of a father or grandfather are heritable, and the following example of a " grandmother " marriage was obtained :—



On Achi's death Bwanyan inherited Juma, i.e. he inherited the widow of his grandfather's brother. Bwanyan was a mere lad and Juma was past the age of child-bearing, but Bwanyan slept regularly with Juma, and performed all the duties incumbent on a husband. If, for example, any aged member of Juma's family died, Bwanyan was required to send a goat for sacrifice to the senior member of Juma's family. The relationship terminology in use before the marriage was continued afterwards. Janfarau, for instance, continued to call Juma " Mother " ; he did not adopt the rôle of " father-in-law " to Juma. Bwanyan similarly continued to call Vivan " Father ". But had Juma borne a child to Bwanyan, Janfarau would have treated the child as a grandson and not as a brother.

The Kachichere speak the same language as the Katab.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

582 621 olden days it would have led to fighting between the two groups.

583 It would seem that among the Kagoro it was not the practice to approach a woman's parents before eloping with her. The elopement took place first, and the parents were compensated 587 851 afterwards. It was also stated that in former times if an enceinte woman ran away the secondary husband generally refused to return the child to the father. The town of Agbam consists 582 621 of four wards, viz.: (*a*) (i) Kamwan (pop. 424), (ii) Kutang (pop. 321); (*b*) (iii) Kajung (pop. 300); (*c*) (iv) Mungwop (pop. [162] 150). Wards (i) and (ii) form a single exogamous group. Ward (iii) is an exogamous unit and so is ward (iv). Wards (i) and (ii) steal wives from the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards of Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. Wards (iii) and (iv) have the reverse process. There are two exceptions, however. The Kajung ward of Agbam does not steal wives (or marry daughters) of the Mingyuo ward of Fadan Kagoro. The Mungwop of Agbam do not steal wives or marry daughters of the Mungwop of Fadan Kagoro. They drink beer together at feasts and consider themselves related. As both bear the same name and have apparently the same animal emblem they may each be a localised group of a former clan. If so they would not, of course, marry each others' daughters; but in so far as kinship is concerned there would be no bar to stealing each others' wives. Among the Katab one section of the clan steals from another of the same clan.

[162] The town of Malogun consists of four wards, viz.: (i) Kuchok (pop. 400), (ii) Machin (pop. 140), (iii) Kwam (pop. 120), (iv) Aku (pop. 300). The first three were said to constitute a single exogamous unit, but I did not verify this. All, however, intermarry with (iv) who belong to the Katab and not the Kagoro tribe. Wards (i) to (iii) steal the wives of the Agwam, Lawat, and Kadau wards in Fadan Kagoro, and marry the daughters of members of the other Fadan Kagoro wards. But as regards the Aku ward of Malogun there is no fixed rule, as they are not of the Kagoro tribe. Any Fadan Kagoro man may marry a daughter or steal a wife of the Aku ward of Malogun. From the evidence given it will be apparent that the dual system of intermarriage between two towns protects the exogamous group from a breach of the kinship rules (for if you steal a wife from

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Kaje

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Aniang	Akumbwon
Okwang	Okwon
Yekwop	Atukwon
Ojam	Odzam
Ashin	Afin
Aviyuk	Afi
Angat	Ati (= father)
Neowhop	Neokwon
Nungvan	Aranduan

It will be seen that the principal difference lies in the special term Akumbwon used by the Kaje for a son's wife. The informants were unable to explain the meaning of this term, but stated that it had no connection with the word *kambwon*, signifying grandchild.

The inheritance and marriage of the paternal grandparent's widows is, as among the Katab, permissible, and it was also stated that the inheritance of a maternal grandparent's widow was also permissible in the case of a lad who had taken up his residence with his maternal grandfather. Inheritance of a father's or father's brother's widows is common (as also among the Katab). There is no special term for cross-cousin (as there is among the Kurama) and a Kaje appears to be playmates with his ortho-cousins equally with his cross-cousins. As among the Katab, so also among the Kaje, the second child born to a married couple has to be ransomed from the wife's parents.

KAJE

1. Head	dechu	dɪtʃu
2. Hair	bonkwon	bonkwɔn
3. Eye	disi	dɪsɪ
Two eyes	asu ahwa	asuahwa
4. Ear	tuwo	tuwo
Two ears	atwo ahwa	atwo ahwa
5. Nose	zuai	zuai
6. One tooth	dingi tirung	dɪŋɪ tirun
Five teeth	anyi atfwon	anji atfwɔn
7. Tongue	diriam	dɪrɪam
8. Neck	tuwa	tuwa
9. Breast (woman's)	dibiam	dibiam

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Morwa

582 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe
614 are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to
586 have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the house-work performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains
587 come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents
428 and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

604 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded
[H31] with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee
604, payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among
597 the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

595 never contract a secondary marriage. (Polygyny is also practised among members of the Katab Group.)

582 (*b*) *Prohibition of Secondary Marriage Within the Local Group:* The local group (hamlet or village), whether or not its males form a single clearly defined kin-group (clan, sub-clan, or lineage), is invariably a group within which secondary marriage cannot be sought. Similarly, lineage and sub-clan always constitute such groups. In some cases, when the large-scale kin-group, the exogamous unit ("clan"), is large and comprises a large number of local groups (and lineages), secondary marriage within the exogamous unit may be enjoined, i.e., a man is encouraged by public opinion to take as secondary wife only the wife of a fellow clansman, the member of a different lineage and village, and of a different sub-clan. If the clan is very small, however, the whole clan may be designated the "wife-stealing" unit.

587 (*c*) *Inheritance of Grandfather's Wives:* As Meek remarks, such is "necessarily of rare occurrence," but appears to be permitted among all tribes of the Group. All save Ikulu recognize also inheritance of father's widows, and it may be that both junior and senior levirate are almost universal.

(v) *Religious Practices: Head-Hunting*

794 Connected apparently to some extent with secondary marriage is the "dodo" cult known among Katab proper, Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje, and perhaps others of the Group as *obwai* (*abwai*). It appears to differ little in those communities for which descriptions of it are available; in many of its details, too, it seems to be virtually identical with the *dodo* cult of the Kadara of Kufana, Kajuru District, described by Smith, which may be related to the tradition of Kajuru-Kadara domination of part or all of the Katab area at some period in pre-Fulani times.

721 Head-hunting was widely practised among the Katab peoples, as among many of their neighbours, Aten, Irigwe, Chawai, and others. The taking of a head [554] apparently gave a man the status of elder and was always the occasion of ritual: captured skulls were preserved. It seems that wars were not infrequent between and among members of the Group, but within the Group each member apparently respected the dead of certain other members (the Kagoro, for example, took Ataka and Kaje heads, but never Moroa or Katab proper), and there is every indication that the favoured game of all members was Fulani and Hausa.

ECONOMY[a]

Occupations: Division of Labour

433 Katab are primarily farmers; the bulk of the farm work appears to be done by males,[b] though women, who may help with the planting and harvest, carrying the crops from the farm to the compound, maintain their own small garden plots at the 462 back of their huts. Livestock (see below) is largely the property of women and is tended by children. Men keep bees(in hives in tall trees in the bush) and export, through the medium of Hausa traders, quantities of desiccated honey (resembling coke cinders) as far afield as Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri). According to all observers, there are few crafts; women weave coarse wickerwork baskets and also the *oyam*, technically an article of considerable refinement; men produce checked or twilled palm-fibre rain-capes and basket-covers, and in recent years appear to have adopted the characteristically Ikulu mat industry (see below). The chief item of wood carving is the woman's head-board (it is not clear whether the *obwai* wears a mask of wood). A variety of musical instruments are produced, but there is

[a] This section refers particularly to Katab of Zangon Katab District.

[b] Wielding the heavy spurred hoe, the effect of which in operation reminds one somehow of both the spade and the simple plough; see plate 5, p. 45 of *Tribal Studies*, II.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

According to Meek, Katab have adopted, apparently purely as a recreation, the *sharo* (*sharau, shado*, etc.) form of initiation ordeal, practised by some of the local Fulani "tribes," among whom, though it is not universally practised, the activity is to all appearances psycho-pathological in character, as it is carried out at the present time. The Katab, however, bind their bodies with cloth as protection against the cane-blows by their fellow-contestants, and *chadong gane*—as it is called in the vernacular—becomes a game of tag.

The taking of heads in war does not appear to have been regarded as a necessary condition to the status of adulthood, though an adult's status was enhanced by success in battle. (See also *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below.)

Marriage

In the case of primary marriage, a girl may be engaged at birth, but normally she is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, through the father's brother or "a male paternal cousin," and "is formally betrothed at the age of seven." Payment and/or service are as follows: (1) four fowls to girl's father; (2) one day's labour, aided by suitor's friends, annually on farm of girl's father (or cash in lieu of service); (3) 2,000 cowries or their equivalent to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e., brothers and paternal cousins; (4) presumably at the time of the actual wedding, an additional 20,000 cowries to the father (who keeps two-thirds for his use, distributing the balance among his relatives);[35] (5) before the final rites, a goat to the girl's mother, three fowls to the father, and 100 cowries to her maternal grandfather.[36] A date is then set by the girl's father for the wedding, which takes the form of capture, convincingly carried out, according to Meek: friends of the suitor seize the girl and leave her in the hut of a relative of the suitor, where she remains for three nights; on the fourth night, the marriage is consummated in the hut of her mother-in-law, where she lives until given her own hut at the end of the first year.

According to Meek, "many Katab girls" are married before puberty. Primary marriages always take place during the dry season (October-March), except in the rare case of an unseasonable pregnancy, when "the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé." Premarital intercourse is said to be unusual because lineages (and clans) are localized.

As regards secondary marriage, a man may not contract a union with a married woman who is (*a*) a member of his own clan, (*b*) a "close" relation of his mother (that is, presumably, a member of his mother's lineage), (*c*) a member of a primary wife's parental household (it is not clear whether affines of his primary wife are included in this prohibition, or her sisters and cousins who have married out of the household), (*d*) the wife of a member of his own kindred, or (*e*) the wife of a fellow-villager. As has already been pointed out, members of Minyam and Agbat clans are enjoined to seek secondary wives among the wives of fellow-clansmen, within the limits indicated here; members of Aku and Shokwa clans, on the contrary, extend the prohibition described at (*d*), above, to the wives of fellow-clansmen, and take their secondary wives from the men of Minyam and Agbat. According to Meek, secondary marriage-payments amount to 15 shillings cash and one goat (1931); when secondary wives are obtained from neighbouring tribes, marriage-payments commonly follow, rather than precede, "elopement."

[35] In the same paragraph Meek stresses inexplicably that "the father's brother . . . receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl."

[36] The cowrie was discontinued as a medium of exchange in 1919, at *c.* 2,400–3,000 = one shilling, in Zaria City. Whether it is, or was at the time of Meek's investigation, still actually used in marriage negotiations is not clear, at least to the complete exclusion of legal tender. Re marriage payments Meek notes, "... members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It it is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift."

587 Secondary affinal marriage occurs: a man may inherit widows of his grandfather, father and brother, but only when these are young women and do not have adult lineal descendants with whom they can live.[26a]

595 Seniority is important among women of the compound, as among men, but how seniority is determined, in view of the complexities arising through the institution of secondary marriage, is not clear.[27] A husband spends two nights with each of his wives in turn, in his own hut, if he has one. Men and women eat in separate groups, the women always in or before the hut of the chief wife. If there is a tendency towards friction between successive generations, relations between alternate generations are characterized by a degree of cordiality. According to Meek, relations between and among siblings reflect a similar convention: on the whole, alternate children are closer and take greater pleasure in one another's company than successive children.

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Death and Burial

753 Meek's statement that " illnesses and premature deaths are ascribed to witchcraft, and those who die of smallpox are believed to have been witches," is not apparently meant to be taken literally.[28] Without exception treatments for illness 757 described by Meek appear to have no element of magic about them: there is even " inoculation for smallpox, the fluid being taken from the pustules of a man suffering from a mild attack, and transfused into the blood of a healthy man by means of a scratch made with a razor," which, though it differs from current European medical procedure, is not alleged to be a witch-finding ordeal.

764 Interment generally follows death within 12 to 18 hours, though the burial of a civil chief, whose death is kept secret for seven days, may be delayed for 24 hours 766 if necessary to comply with the rule that a chief must be buried under cover of night. The body of a commoner is clothed in the short Hausa-Fulani gown (*tobe*), that of a chief in a robe (*riga*), and finally wrapped in an ordinary mat of palm-fibre. Burial is generally in the home-compound; old men and chiefs are buried beneath the entrance-hut. The grave is described as decanter-shaped, about 6 ft. deep. If the deceased has been a man of importance, a stone is set up on the grave to mark the site for his descendants who may wish to make offerings to their dead ancestor (see *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below).

When burial—presided over by the *magajin elenowum*—is complete, horns are sounded (if the deceased had reached a respectable age), beer is drunk, and a feast may follow. In the case of a chief, his immediate relatives are " officially " informed of his death—and burial—a week later, but public announcement is not made for perhaps a month, when a general feast is held. According to Meek, however, " the real funeral feast " will not be held until the dry season (presumably delayed only in case of death in the rains): this lasts for two days, during which the senior male relatives go to the *obwai* hut, then come forth and join in a general dance.

765 Regarding mourning, Meek says that a widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one or two months. At the end of this period she is shaved and washed in the river by female relatives. Though men themselves do not make a display of mourning, a woman mourns in

[26a] A woman may choose, apparently, whether she will be inherited by her husband's son or grandson.

[27] The wives of any man rank according to the length of time they have been his wives; but it is not stated whether a wife loses seniority by absence (as the secondary wife of another man), whether a secondary wife ever out-ranks a primary wife, or how the wives of males of varying rank in the compound are ranked (whether, for example, the senior wife of the senior male, or compound head, is inevitably the senior woman of the compound, even though she may be very junior from the point of view of actual residence). It is made clear only that the age of the women does not enter into calculation of their rank.

[28] Meek's qualification of this statement appears in an earlier section of his account of Katab, where he notes that the Katab " does not surround himself with amulets and talismans " nor live in constant dread of evil spirits.

587

(3) Widow inheritance.[97]

(*a*) Inheritance of (man's) father's wife.

(*b*) Inheritance of (man's) " real " brother's wife.

(*c*) Inheritance of (man's) classificatory brother's wife (most commonly within lineage or clan, sometimes within the limits of the *bin*).

In primary marriage, according to Smith, the actual negotiations are never made by the parties concerned: the suitor or his father approaches a matrilineal or affinal relative of the suitor in an appropriate (*niendi*) clan and names the girl-member that interests him; this relative, in turn, seeks out as a second intermediary a fellow clansman more closely related to the girl's father and willing to arrange the marriage. A series of gifts is made by the suitor and his father through the go-betweens to the girl and her parents, and lesser gifts are returned. In the year before the marriage is to take place, the girl's back is cicatrized (see *Initiation*, above); feasts prepared by the suitor's family, and consumed by the girl and her kin in their own village, precede and follow the ordeal. At last, three women (the chief wife of each of the intermediaries, and the wife of a matrilineal kinsman of the bride) take the girl to her husband's compound. According to Smith, " This carrying of the bride to her husband's home . . . is performed by all Kagoro at a set season after . . . Zafan clan at Kadarko . . ." Further rituals, however, occupy several succeeding days before the marriage is consummated. 584

It is noteworthy that, according to Smith's Kagoro informants, formal courtship occurs during betrothal on visits made by the suitor accompanied by a male friend. They visit the girl's compound after dark, taking a new mat and some tobacco or beer as gifts for her mother and father. No sexual play or intercourse is associated with these visits which take place as often as the suitor desires. Kagoro say that premarital intercourse is rare and premarital pregnancy exceptionally rare. It is particularly shameful if a daughter gives birth in her parents' home, and to avoid this, when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, the marriage is immediately carried out without any formalities. Which is to say, apparently, that she simply takes up residence in her husband's compound, without any of the ceremony described above, and regardless of the " set season." 584 836 848

The primary marriage of a woman may—and appears often to—serve as a kind of signal to secondary suitors, as they may be termed: " Suitors seeking a girl in secondary marriage first bring the matter to her parents' notice on the day that she has been taken to her first husband's compound." Secondary courtship proceeds much according to the pattern observed for primary: the woman's parents are approached, gifts are exchanged, and courtship visits paid to the woman whenever she returns to her parental compound, as she does periodically, according to a more or less fixed traditional pattern from the very beginning of her marriage. A wife may reject a secondary suitor, however; on the other hand, a really persistent secondary suitor can have his way with her provided she bears her primary husband a child, and the suitor can succeed in kidnapping the infant during the nursing period. 584 587

Complete failure to persuade a woman in a secondary suit may result in refunding payments made by the suitor, application for which he makes only as a last resort, however.

As indicated earlier, payments made by a husband secure the membership of his children in his own clan: young children, however, regularly accompany their mother when she takes up residence with successive husbands; this practice has the effect of extending the terms for father and paternal relatives of children to all the husbands of the mother and their relatives. To prevent paternity disputes, a woman was required monthly, for three months after taking up residence 851 843

[97] *N.B.*, widows apparently cannot contract new primary marriages.

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843 with a new husband, to demonstrate to her father (or guardian) that she was not pregnant, according to Kagoro tradition.

584 587 In general, secondary marriage with formal betrothal is negotiated with the utmost discretion, so that ideally the primary (or current, about-to-be-displaced secondary) husband is presented with a *fait accompli* when his wife takes up residence with a new husband. In practice, however, the husband often knows all too well the true situation, but he is enjoined to suppress any show of jealousy or anger, and instead to treat his rival with the utmost sympathy and respect. It must be stressed that a second marriage does not dissolve the first, and that a wife may return to prior husbands without particular formality.

583 587 Secondary marriage by capture appears to have occurred at least as often without the woman's consent as with: the village of the woman's prior husband usually responded with an attack on the village of the offender, but such a measure was likely to be more or less ineffective if the two villages were separated by one or more other villages, who might be inclined to discourage hostilities, and in the end the affair might be settled by the abductor legitimizing the marriage by payments to the girl's parents; when a wife was captured from a neighbouring village feuding might continue until the wife returned—or was returned—to her own parental compound or to her prior husband's village. Indeed, it appears that wives were taken in this way more frequently from Ataka and Kaje, among neighbouring tribes, who were in turn the major offenders against Kagoro, in this respect: it will be recalled that Kagoro took heads in these tribes. However, it appears that it was practised frequently enough among the ancestors of the groups which compose the present-day Kagoro community to have left its mark on the social structure: Smith conjectures that something like a "normal" *niendi* relationship between clans became in some cases *nendwang*, when one clan took by force a wife from the other.

586 587 As indicated already, marriage cannot be dissolved by any traditional means. Even should a woman's husband die, he is succeeded automatically by a kinsman, though she may choose his successor from among his eligible relatives, and, in fact, she may take up—or resume—residence with another husband when she has spent a "reasonable" period with her inheritor.

586 There have been changes in traditional procedures since Administration. Within the past generation, divorce has been enforced and, accordingly, secondary marriage—"serial polyandry", that is—has been forbidden. In an effort to reduce paternity disputes, the Moslem custom (*iddat*, *idda*, etc.) requiring a divorced woman to return to her parents for a period of celibacy lasting three months before consummating a new marriage has been introduced by Administration to replace indigenous practice described. It would appear that in those cases where the secondary suitor can afford to pay the fines, traditional procedures may be followed still; in other cases it seems that Kagoro are indifferent to the European definition of divorce, even when they adhere to the letter of the law.

825 727 587 Kagoro claim that incest between close biological kin is unheard of, though terrible to contemplate. They say also that incest between affines (a man and his brother's wife) was unknown before Administration. Before the advent of the British, a man captured by outsiders was, in effect, declared legally dead, and none, apparently had ever been known to return from captivity; the problem has now arisen of how to provide for the wives of men imprisoned for limited periods for offences against the Administration. The Kagoro solution has been, when the man's sentence is a considerable one, to permit the customary "inheritance" of his wives by his "heirs", all concerned submitting to ritual purification on his release from prison.

837 684 According to Smith, adultery could occur only with a man from another clan, presumably a *niendi* clan, though he fails to specify, since a member of a *nendwang* clan would be able to contract a secondary marriage, if attracted to a woman. Inter-clan adultery, where not witnessed, is said to be usually confessed by the

and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's "capture": friends of the husband "abduct" her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.

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whether rites are performed at each village more or less independently, and if the latter, whether a boy is initiated in his own or his mother's village.

At initiation the boys are secluded for five days " in the house of Ku "; the *ku* appears to be very much the equivalent of the Katab *obwai*, in Meek's view,[124] but that term does not seem to be used by Jaba. The boys are beaten and the essential secrets of the cult revealed to them. At the end of their confinement they are taken secretly into the bush and " bathed in white mud . . . to give them the appearance of having been vomited up by the Ku." They then return to the village and are anointed with oil by their mothers, and beat all girls with whom they used to play, " for they have now become manly and children of the Ku." Further rites follow, including hunts in the bush, and five additional nights are spent in the *ku* house. When they finally return home they may not speak with women relatives for a period of three months, to mark the end of which the boys perform a day of farm labour for the priest and " the women prepare a feast and pray the boys that they may once again hear them speak."

According to Meek, there is among Jaba " a female society," the precise character of which is not made plain (but see also *Religious Beliefs*, below). Initiation, however, is said to enable a woman to take an animal shape. Whether the *ku* initiation of boys has the same effect is not stated.

Marriage

Betrothal is fixed by a gift to the girl's father of " a ring, a fowl, or 2,000 cowries," according to Temple. Until a girl reaches marriageable age (nine or ten years), her mother receives annually from the suitor a bag of acha or guinea-corn. At that time, then, the suitor presents her father with a " large " hoe (presumably the great spurred hoe of this region), and six goats; he dispenses a quantity of *tuo* (Hausa, guinea-corn porridge) among her relatives; and finally sends the bride cosmetic oil. The bride is then brought by girls of her village (hence her kin-group) to her husband's compound, where he awaits her in the company of male friends. The bride, groom and their attendants then partake of a feast of *tuo*, the sexes segregated. According to Temple, payments of the equivalent of two shillings annually are made to the wife's parents by the husband or his heirs as long as the wife lives, but only so long as, and while, she remains in his compound: secondary marriage (with the connivance of the wife's parents) obtains among Jaba as among Katab and others of this region: as indicated already, apart from observing the ordinary rules of exogamy, a man must seek secondary wives in neighbouring villages—including those of neighbouring " tribes."

Burial

Meek describes a decanter-type grave for Jaba, but Temple, a shaft-and-tunnel. A chief is buried under the " porch " of his house. When a chief dies (whether " tribal " chief, or head of village or hamlet—and kinship unit—is not stated), the body is prepared by a gathering of elders; the body of a commoner is prepared for burial by women relatives. According to Temple, the heirs and relatives provide beer and meat for a feast, cooked by the women outside the " Magajin dodo's house " (the " Ku house " referred to by Meek?). A voice from within, interpreted as that of the spirit of the deceased, salutes his friends and thanks them for their gifts. The women thereupon fly to their houses, while the men remain to devour the meat.

Religious Beliefs

Meek states that " Jaba appear to have been worshippers of the sun," no doubt basing his speculation on the fact that *sun* and *god* are homophones in Jaba language (Meek does not mark tone in his vocabulary).

[124] However, Meek does not indicate explicitly any connection with the ancestor cult. See *Religious Beliefs*, below.

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585 of marriage before leaving them alone together. The following morning the groom's mother gives a feast to the inmates of her own house, and a month later the bride's mother sends two calabashes of tuo to her son-in-law's house, whence he distributes them to his friends and to the elders of the village as proof that the marriage has taken place.

●587 When a man marries a second time the above formula is omitted. He gives the girl's parents a hoe and 4,000 cowries, after which the girl goes to him of her own accord, but if she delays doing so for more than a year after the dower is paid he can claim it back.

586 Desertion is considered no crime, and if a woman leaves her husband soon after the marriage, the dower is refunded to him by his wife's parents, but if she has remained with him for four or five years he has no claim. Her new husband pays her parents a hoe and 4,000 cowries.

575 173 The difficulties that have arisen from this laxity of morals are met by the following device:

"As far as this district is concerned the idea of forming a 'Dodo' society originally started in the village of Agabi, a number of years ago. Two men were bewailing the fact that their wives were constantly running away from them and that their children were getting out of hand. They put their heads together to seek a remedy.

"Eventually they took a gourd from the 'Kukan Chikki' tree, and after scraping it hollow, placed some kind of parchment over its mouth. In the middle of the night this was blown with terrifying effect (the noise is very like that produced by a comb and piece of paper). The women were very frightened and hid themselves. They were subsequently told this was the voice [196] of the 'Dodo'—a mythical spirit well known in Haussaland—rebuking them for their misdeeds. The women all promised atonement.

"The news of the Agabi 'Dodo' soon spread and people came in from the neighbouring villages, curious to hear all about it. Men were let into the secret, but had to swear under penalty of death never to tell their women or children the real origin of this new-found power over them.

575 [344] "The 'Dodo' soon became universal in every village, and each had its own particular 'kurmi,' where 'Dodo' gatherings took place. This tended to still further impress and mystify the women. Only married men were eligible for election, and not until they had been married for two or three years.

"As a rule, initiation into the 'Dodo' society was reserved until such time as there were some ten or twenty young married men ready to be elected. Their wives were informed of the impending ceremony, and on the appointed day had to cook goats or chickens provided by the candidates. The cooked

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the day that they begin to walk their father invites the whole village to a beer orgy. 852

The ceremonies that take place upon death are identical with those practised by the Jaba. A Kagoma widow, however, only mourns for one month and can marry again in the second. Under no circumstances can a woman inherit. 764 [587] [428]

They believe that a departed spirit can return to earth as a shooting star and re-enter upon a fresh sphere of human existence. 775

Sons inherit the whole property, but the younger brother of the deceased has the first choice of the widows. Failing sons, brothers inherit. 428

They believe in an all-powerful god. 776

KAGORO.

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The Kagoro have a population approaching some 8,500 in number and occupy an area of about 110 square miles in the Jemaa Division, on the northern and western faces of a ridge of mountains, known as Kagoro, which runs from Bauchi into Nassarawa. 131 161

Most of the towns are built at the foot of these hills, where the land is very fertile and large crops of corn, principally maiwa, which is almost exclusively used for drink, and beans are raised. The beans are the property of the women and are grown on trellises, like vines, and form the principal food of the people. Manure from fowls, and goat-dung and ashes are used. Cattle are not kept and there are no markets. 361 241 [273] [231]

In old days the Kagoro lived underground and went to their farms through underground tunnels, owing, they say, to the place being over-run with wild beasts. The villages are now surrounded with high cactus hedges, which grow to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet. In most cases each compound and each field is encircled by one of these. At the entrance the hedges overlap on the principle of a swivel-ring for keys. The walls of the huts are of mud and the roofs of thatch, which latter are renewed every year after the harvest. Each woman has her own house, which is accessible through one, or sometimes two, doors, two and a half to three feet in height. The entrance commonly leads into a low narrow verandah, but sometimes straight into a sort of hall which runs along the whole width of the house, and is used for storing pots, etc. A feature of the doorways is that each one is double and in between each is 173 361 342